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Maxwell in London: War and the Liberal Conscience

Lindsey Ohmit-

This past winter break, a group of students from the Maxwell School enrolled in a course entitled "Contemporary War and the Liberal Conscience." This course, taught by Professor Jan-Willem Honig, a Senior Lecturer in War Studies at King's College, London and currently a visiting Professor of Military Strategy at the Swedish National Defence College, provided an interactive way for students to learn about how conflict is viewed by different people at different periods in time. The

course specifically looks at how the 'liberal conscience,'



a term coined by War Studies Department founder Michael Howard, influences armed interventions and wars since the end of the Cold War. This modern era is extremely

interesting to examine particularly because after the Cold War, the "west" found itself without an ideological competitor, which allowed the liberal idea of using the military for 'good' to spread and flourish.

Students attended a two day crash course in historical European perspectives on war prior to winter break before departing for London, England,

where the course consisted of talks by guest lecturers and historical tours. The guest lecturers this year included James Gow, author of *De-*

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A Welcome from the Director of the European Research Centers

Happy New Year and welcome to a new semester of Moynihan European Research Centers' programming. In addition to our ongoing speaker series, includ-

Dr. Christine Mahoney is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University and the Director of the Moynihan European Research Centers



ing visiting scholars from Germany, England, and California, and our ongoing student interest group activities, we will also be organizing an EU simulation and a workshop on European Parties this semester, with visitors from over a dozen universities. Details on all of these can be found in this edition of the newsletter and we look forward to seeing you there.

Throughout 2009 we will be working to build stronger ties with more universities and institutes in Europe, promote student and scholar exchanges and facili-

tate more European internships than ever before. We currently have partnerships with the Hertie Center for Public Policy in Berlin, and the Otto-Suhr Institut, Center for Transnational Relations, at the Free University of Berlin and have been working closely with our Syracuse University Abroad center in Strasbourg to ensure students interested in Europe and transatlantic relations have the opportunity to study on the other side of the Atlantic. Stay tuned for new developments in this area!

THE MOYNIHAN EUROPEAN RESEARCH CENTERS



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EU Simulation and Conference: April 13th-14th

5th Annual EU Graduate Simulation and Conference

The Moynihan European Research Centers are pleased to announce their 5th annual graduate simulation and the conference to be held from April 13th-14th at the beautiful Stella Maris retreat center in picturesque Skaneateles, NY.

EU Simulation

The simulation this year will revolve around the topic: **“NATO’s 60th Anniversary - A Question Mark for the Future of the Transatlantic Alliance?”** Roles will be geared to accommodate students’ regional and topical interests.

EU Conference

The Graduate Student European Union Conference: **“EU-US Relations Today and Tomorrow,”** will take place following the simulation. Students will present papers they have written, are writing or research they may be interested in doing.



**Heike Klüver—
University of Mannheim**

New Moynihan Visiting Scholar - Heike Klüver

Heike Klüver is a PhD Candidate at the Graduate School of Economic and Social Sciences at the University of Mannheim. From 2002 to 2007 she studied Political Science and Economics in Heidelberg, Grenoble and Barcelona. Her research and teaching

focuses on Interest Intermediation and Policy-Making in the European Union. In her thesis, supervised by Berthold Rittberger and Sabine Saurugger, she analyzes interest group influence on policy formulation in the European Union. Using quantitative text analysis,

she measures interest group influence on 60 policy issues by comparing policy preferences of interest groups with policy proposals adopted by the European Commission. She will present her research “Online Consultations in the European Union” in March to the Moynihan Institute.

“Israel responded to Hamas attacks using a broad sword approach instead of a scalpel. Such an indiscriminate response, clearly, could not have been enthusiastically welcomed by international community.”

Conflict in the Gaza Strip: European and American reactions

Bartosz Stanislawski, Ph.D—

Close to 1,400 Palestinians and 13 Israelis were killed as a result of the almost month-long operation of the Israeli army in the Gaza Strip. The official reason for the Israeli intervention and operation codenamed “Cast Lead” was the repeated shelling of Israeli targets by the Hamas militants. Self-defense by a state, when attacked, is a reaction clearly understandable and sanctioned by international law. But defense should not turn into a reaction that looks more like a blind and indiscriminate revenge; there still is a difference between using a sniper rifle against an armed terrorist in an urban area and dropping half-ton bombs on

districts inhabited predominantly by innocent civilians.

Israel responded to Hamas attacks using a broad sword approach instead of a scalpel. Such an indiscriminate response, clearly, could not have been enthusiastically welcomed by international community. While the U.S. government mostly limited itself to the cliché statements that Israel “has the right to self-defense” against terrorism, the official European Union response, represented by the Czech government that presently holds the rotating EU presidency, called for a ceasefire. On a national government level, European responses represented an amalgam of calls for ceasefire, or mild support for one side and

condemnation of the other. Among European populations, TV images of artillery shelling, air strikes, and alleged use of phosphorous bombs (neither very discriminate, nor “intelligent” weapons) by the Israeli military resulted in street protests against Israeli offensive.

Putting aside the debate on whether Hamas or Israel broke the truce, which led to the conflict, here are a few reasons why the kind of response that Israel resorted to was and remains unacceptable to the majority of Europeans and the broader international community. First, the response was nowhere near international law’s principle of proportionality

Energy Insecure - *The Czech Republic and the Gas Crisis*

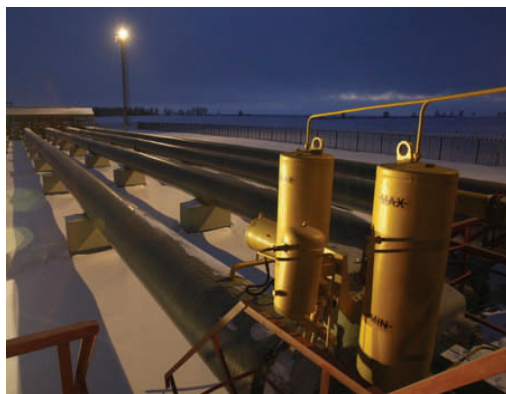
Linda Jirouskova—

"How was the break? Did you have heat?" I received this question several times after my return from the winter break in the Czech Republic. The Russian-Ukrainian dispute that resulted in a major gas crisis in Europe has been closely followed not only by the Europeans but also by many in the United States. I answered: "Yes, we did. The crisis was not as serious in the Czech Republic as in some other countries, but it is definitely a lesson for the future."

On January 1, 2009 Russian gas giant Gazprom stopped delivery of gas to Ukraine arguing that Ukraine did not pay its debt of about \$2 billion for gas imports in 2008. The failure of the negotiations between the two countries regarding the future gas prices was an additional factor contributing to the disruption of gas imports. Ukraine denied Russian accusations and responded to its limited supply by transferring some of the supply for

European markets to its domestic market defending this move on technical necessity basis.

While it originally seemed that the dispute



would be resolved within a couple of days without major consequences for European markets, the negotiations broke down and significant efforts from the EU were necessary to help broker an agreement between Ukraine and Russia. For nearly three weeks imports of gas were disrupted in several Central and Eastern European countries and severely limited in some Western European countries. Countries that rely 100% on gas imports from Russia, such as Bulgaria and Slovakia, were hit the hardest

followed by Serbia, Greece, Turkey, and Hungary.

The Czech Republic receives about 72% of its gas imports from Russia and about 28% from Norway. It

was able to sustain steady supplies to all households and businesses despite a complete closure of the pipelines from Russia on January 7. Luckily, the country was able to negotiate an additional supply from Norway and utilize its underground reserves. Given this skillful maneuvering by the government,

the public was not seriously affected by the shutoff, yet the public and the government are in agreement that the strong dependence on Russia for energy supplies must be addressed.

The gas crisis and the conflict in Gaza came as difficult test for the Czech Republic right at the beginning of its EU presidency. While the Czech leaders received full EU support for their role in the Russian-Ukrainian negotiations and were praised after the initial agreement

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London— Continued from Page 1

fending the West and a Professor of International Peace and Security at King's College and Sir David Omand, who was the first Permanent Secretary and Security Intelligence Co-ordinator at the Cabinet Office for the British Government. The historical parts of the London-based course included trips to the National War Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum and a walk that showcased

some of London's most interesting war memorials.

In addition to the academic portion of the course, students took the opportunity to explore London and take in the sights of one of the world's great cities. The London course is one of five programs that Maxwell offers for study in Europe. Students have the opportunity to do summer internships and research in Geneva, Switzerland and Strasbourg, France.

In the fall, students can spend an exchange semester at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin, Germany or live and work throughout the continent as part of the Global Europe program. Studying abroad is a great opportunity for students and is one of the strengths of the Maxwell School. Students always return with great stories and important new perspectives that will aid them in their learning and future careers.



UPCOMING EVENTS

MOYNIHAN EUROPEAN CENTERS SPEAKER SERIES

Dr. David Coen, University College London
"Business Interests in the EU"

February 26th, 2009
12:00 PM
341 Eggers Hall
Lunch provided

Heike Kluver, MA Uni. of Mannheim
"Online Consultations in the European Union"
March 27, 2009
12:00PM
341 Eggers Hall
Lunch provided

Dr. Jim Adams, UC Davis
"Mass Responses to Elite Depolarization: The British Public in Comparative Perspective"
April 9, 2009
12:00 PM
341 Eggers Hall
Lunch provided

Dr. Bartosz H. Stanislawski Maxwell School
"Uniting Europe: Frontex and European Border Security"
April 29th 12-1:30pm
Eggers 341
Lunch provided

Gas Crisis — Continued from Page 3

“The Czech Republic was the first post-communist country to negotiate a contract for gas imports from Norway in 1997 and may serve as a model for other Eastern European countries who were hit hard by the crisis due to their full dependency on Russian imports.”

was reached on January 12, the subsequent breakdown of negotiations that resulted in another week of zero supplies showed that the initial celebration of the Czech diplomatic skills was somewhat premature. Despite the success of the Czech-led EU delegation in helping end the gas dispute with Russia, its handling of the Middle East and the European response to Gaza was ineffective. It remains to be seen whether the Czech Republic, one of the newest members of the EU, can live up to the expectations for the country holding the EU presidency. The future success of the Czech presidency remains even more uncertain as the

public support of the current Czech government led by Topolánek has been falling dramatically in the past six months.

The day the agreement between Russia and Ukraine was concluded, the secret service of the Czech Republic announced that the settlement is by no means a guarantee of steady supplies in the future. Unstable political and commercial relations between Russia and Ukraine may allow similar crisis in the future. The Security Committee called upon the government to prepare a plan outlining a strategy for future energy politics. The Czech Republic was the first post-communist country to

negotiate a contract for gas imports from Norway in 1997 and may serve as a model for other Eastern European countries who were hit hard by the crisis due to their full dependency on Russian imports. Nevertheless, it is time for Europe as a whole (which imports about 25% of its gas from Russia) to reevaluate the future of its energy security. So, yes, we survived and resolved this crisis, but we need to put serious efforts into preventing similar ones in the future.

Linda Jirouskova is an M.A. Candidate in Economics and International Relations at the Maxwell School of Syracuse University

Gaza— Continued 2

“I was asked by a number of Europeans from various countries a similar question: ‘What does the US government think?’ ‘Not a single word of criticism in response to this genocide by Israeli troops?’ Strong words? Yes.”

in combat operations. Secondly, the Israeli military did not seem to do too much to limit civilian casualties. Granted, terrorists are difficult to identify, since they usually do not wear specific uniforms or insignia, but that should only increase the discriminate nature of operations against them. As is very well known to the Israeli military and special services, if one needs to resort to military response against terrorists operating in urban environments, tanks and artillery shelling are not terribly helpful, unless civilian casualties are totally ignored or calculated into the cost of the operation. Lastly, civilian population cannot become an object of military retaliation for terrorist attacks; that may only antagonize the population even further, which is a serious, long-term and strategic

mistake in counter-terrorist and counter-insurgency operations.

The bottom line now is that close to 1,400 people, majority of them totally innocent, lost their lives in yet another Middle East clash between the proverbial David and Goliath. The only difference is that the symbolism of the biblical David used to refer to Israel. In the fighting between Israel and Hezbollah in 2006, it was said that it was Israel who became the Goliath because of its army's size in comparison with the opposing force, but also because it did not achieve its stated objectives and lost the “war.” It will be interesting which one Israel will be perceived to be following the fighting in the Gaza. If, as the Israeli side maintains, Hamas tried to be “smart” by hiding among Palestinian civilians, then Israeli re-

sponse also should have been “smart”; and history proves that Israeli special services are very capable of such smartness. Instead, Israel's response was such that having come back from the Middle East to Europe, I was asked by a number of Europeans from various countries a similar question: “What does the US government think? Not a single word of criticism in response to this genocide by Israeli troops?” Strong words? Yes. That is because the nearly 1,400 dead people (women and children among them) is a very large number, which could have been avoided if Israeli response had been more proportionate and “smarter.”

Dr. Bartosz Stanislawski is a Transnational Societal Security Research Fellow at Syracuse University and the Associate Director of the Moynihan European Research Centers